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Cabinet okays NIS 4.9b budget cut

DAVID HARRIS

THE cabinet last night approved the Treasury's plan for a massive budget cut after a debate that lasted more than seven hours. The Treasury had presented a comprehensive blueprint for slashing government expenditures in 1997 by NIS 4.9 billion.

Foreign Minister David Levy, Health Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, and Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav abstained in the final vote.

The document proposes a series of cuts ranging from drastic reductions in child allowances, standing army salaries and old-age benefits, to extra medical treatment costs, and increases in public transport fares.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu described the measures as "painful but inevitable surgery," stressing "this is only a partial step."

The proposal sets out plans for a total 1997 budget of just over NIS 170b., nominally less than this year's NIS 172b. budget, without inflation adjustments.

"Clearly Israel still has the needs of a developing modern society," said Finance Minister Dan Meridor. "However, the previous government's health, education, and welfare expenditure added up to a sum that was beyond our capabilities. Hence the need for tough decisions which necessitated public courage. It would have been easier to be popular."

There is hardly a family in the country that will not be affected by the cuts, which will affect all sectors of the population. The proposals include flat payments of NIS 10 for each visit to a doctor and NIS 20 for hospital out-patient appointments. Netanyahu said steps would be taken to ensure "a weak family" would not pay more than NIS 15 in a given month.

There will be a 50 percent reduction in child allowances for the first two children in a family with up to three children, where the main breadwinner earns more than NIS 4,500, but less than NIS 7,500. Families with a higher income than this will not receive

any payment for the first two children.

The major cut in the defense budget will fall on retiring career officers. The government estimates it can save NIS 500m. in this area.

The cabinet was also asked to seek the repeal of the Demobilized Soldiers Law and the Veteran Citizens Law.

Public transport fares are set to rise by 13%, other than for senior citizens.

Employers will face a 3% hike in National Insurance contributions. Hundreds of civil servants will lose their jobs, including 350 in public works, 100 in transport, and an undisclosed number in the Employment Service.

The law which introduced a longer school day will not be implemented until 2000, instead of 1998. This equates to some 50,000 school hours being lost.

Lottery and other gambling wins of NIS 1,000 or more will now be taxed at 20%. Previously they were tax exempt.

Capital-investment aid, which currently stands at 34%, will be slashed to 20% in first degree development areas. "Ninety percent of investments that arrive in Israel need no incentives," said Meridor.

Netanyahu was very keen to complete the budget cutting process before he leaves for the US. "Economically, my visit to Washington will be less important than my visit to New York, and especially to Wall Street, where in essence I will be telling investors that they should invest in Israel, not because of government incentives, but because of its gifted people," he told journalists.

Cuts of NIS 350m. are also being proposed for the current fiscal year. These include NIS 90m. from agriculture, NIS 73m. from the Defense Ministry, and NIS 19m. from education.

Overall, the hardest hit ministry is Defense, which has to make total savings of NIS 825m. That decision was taken as dozens of officers' wives demonstrated for a second day against cuts to regular army salaries.

Other ministries will also be



Finance Minister Dan Meridor and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu defend proposed government cuts last night. (Reuters)

severely trimmed back: Health, which will lose NIS 500m.; Construction and Housing, which will suffer a NIS 246m. cut; and the Finance Ministry, which will lose NIS 292m.

Despite accusations from his Shas colleagues that he did not fight his battle hard enough, Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai is said to be totally satisfied that all his requests were met by the final budget proposal. The ministry is receiving an additional NIS 150m. on the 1996 figure.

Opposition politicians immediately criticized the measures, despite Netanyahu's comment that, "we looked after the weaker strata of society."

Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz (Labor) gave reporters his

response. "I refuse to believe that something like this could happen." Last week, Peretz said he would not rule out strike action if the proposals attacked workers and their rights.

"The most powerful word I can find is mourning, if not worse than that," said former finance minister Avraham Shohat. Both Netanyahu and Meridor have said that the cuts have to be implemented as a direct consequence of Shohat's fiscal policies in 1995 and 1996.

Nearly 1/3 of the NIS 170m. budget will not be used for current expenditures, but for debt repayment and services.

The Knesset must approve the final 1997 budget no later than October 28.

Main budget cuts

- Flat payments of NIS 10 for each visit to a doctor and NIS 20 for hospital out-patient appointments.
- A 50 percent reduction in child allowances for the first two children in a family with up to three children, where the main breadwinner earns more than the average wage, but less than 1.5 times the average wage. Families with a higher income will not receive any payment for the first two children.
- Cuts in benefits to retiring career IDF officers.
- Repeal of the Demobilized Soldiers Law and the Veteran Citizens Law.
- Increase of public transport fares by 13 percent.
- Dismissal of hundreds of civil servants, including 350 in public works and 100 in transport.
- Delay in introduction of longer school day until 2000, instead of 1998.
- A 20 percent tax on lottery and other gambling wins worth NIS 1,000 or more. D.E.

Gov't to approve Sharon ministry

SARAH HONG

THE government was expected late last night to approve the establishment of the new national infrastructure ministry that was custom-built for MK Ariel Sharon.

It was still unclear, however, if Sharon would be sworn in as a minister today or whether this would await Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's return from the US.

The deliberations over the new ministry took a back seat yesterday to the proposed budget cuts, and it was uncertain that the government would have enough time to deal with the issue before this morning.

Senior Likud sources argued it would be no calamity if the ministry were approved in principle, but if various details and Sharon's actual installment in office waited until next week.

But this prospect was angrily rejected by Foreign Minister David Levy, whose ultimatum last week forced Netanyahu to cobble together the Sharon portfolio before his departure for Washington. Levy, sources said, wants everything completed before Netanyahu leaves.

Several more details relating to the new ministry were dealt with, however. It was decided, for example, that Sharon would be put in charge of water agreements with neighboring countries and the Palestinian Authority.

As to Sharon's disagreements with Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan on the Water Commission, a mediating committee, headed by

former agriculture minister Arye Nehamkin, is to be set up to draw up clear lines of demarcation.

Eitan had already agreed to cede the Water Commission to Sharon, but is insisting on a written agreement giving him authority to fix water quotas and prices for farmers, and establishing clear distinctions between his areas of responsibilities and Sharon's.

Deputy Housing Minister Meir Porush (United Torah Judaism) continues to oppose ceding any more pieces of his ministry to Sharon.

However, sources close to Sharon reported that the gap was in fact closing. They said Sharon will be getting the Housing Ministry's huge Public Works Department, but that he has agreed to drop his insistence on the small Rural Construction Administration.

Likud sources predicted that if UTJ remains firm about the PWD, Netanyahu will risk a confrontation with the haredi party and force it to give in, rather than provoke conflict with the Levy-Sharon axis. Netanyahu has a solid parliamentary majority without UTJ.

Levy rejected as "irksome" Porush's suggestion that if he wants to see Sharon in the government, he should yield his title of acting premier to Sharon, rather than seeking more concessions from the Housing Ministry. Porush noted that Levy's Geshet is the only faction that has not made any sacrifices for Sharon.

Netanyahu off to US today for meeting with Clinton

Jerusalem Post Staff

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu leaves today for his first trip to the US as premier, amid expectations that he and President Bill Clinton will publicly express signs of friendship and cooperation.

Netanyahu will stay at Blair House, the official US guest house across the street from the White House. The residence has been equipped with toys for Netanyahu's children Yair and Avner, who will be traveling with him and his wife, Sara.

Netanyahu meets with Clinton tomorrow. As currently scheduled, he will hold separate talks with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Defense Secretary William Perry, and Commerce Secretary Mickey Kantor. Along with Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel, Netanyahu is also expected to meet with James Wolfensohn, head of the World Bank.

On Wednesday, Netanyahu will address a joint session of Congress. He will also meet congressional leaders and Jewish members of Congress and hold a separate meeting with CIA director John Deutch. He will also visit the US Holocaust Museum and the Aerospace Museum.

On Thursday, Netanyahu will meet Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole. He will also meet New York Governor George Pataki and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Netanyahu is also expected to hold a session with major industrialists, at which he will discuss prospects for the Israeli economy. He is also to address the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

On Friday, Netanyahu is expected to meet columnists and give a slew of media interviews. On Shabbat, he is to speak at services at Kehilat Jeshurun Congregation in Manhattan. He is to depart for Israel late Saturday night.

Others accompanying Netanyahu include Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, foreign policy adviser Dore Gold, Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office Avigdor Lieberman, director for policy planning and communication David Bar-Ilan, cabinet secretary Danny Naveh, spokesman Shai Bazak, Government Press Office director Moshe Fogel, and two nannies for the children.

Thieves use crane to steal 300 kg. safe from gas station

DAVID RUDGE

THIEVES stole a safe weighing 300 kg. that contained more than NIS 40,000 in cash and nearly NIS 70,000 in checks from a gas station in Kfar Tavor early yesterday morning.

Police believe the thieves used some kind of crane to load the safe onto a truck, after first cutting it from the floor.

The Ha'azukim District spokesman said the thieves also cut the phone lines and stole cans of oil worth more than NIS 20,000.

Anyone who saw a suspicious vehicle in the area Saturday night has been asked to contact police.

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Investigators dig for Bosnia massacre evidence

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A convoy of four-wheel drive vehicles and a backhoe brought war crimes investigators to the lush green hills around Srebrenica yesterday to begin gathering evidence of the worst known massacre of the Bosnian war.

The hills presumably hold the corpses of more than 7,000 Muslims believed slaughtered after the Serbs overran the town of Srebrenica July 11, 1995. Piles of bones and tattered clothing can still be seen scattered across the land.

The evidence war crimes investigators find over the next three months will be used to build a case against people indicted by the UN war crimes tribunal, including Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic, accused of orchestrating the massacre.

The 15 investigators who arrived yesterday were accompanied by four US army Humvees outfitted with 50-caliber machine guns and anti-tank rockets.

As the convoy left a US base in Visanica, a town in the Serbian half of Bosnia about 31 km north-

TERRENCE PETTY HASANOVICI, Bosnia

west of Srebrenica, some local residents watched and waved from the roadside.

The convoy stopped near Hasanovici, about 25 km northwest of Srebrenica. The team followed a dusty track uphill between two hills, stopping at a remote site in a valley with a brook bubbling through it.

Just off the track, investigators found four bodies in May - one with a bullet-sized hole in the back of the head. More are believed buried there.

Yesterday Norwegian specialists using German shepherds were the first to enter the area, looking for land mines. They were followed by team members carrying metal detectors to help pinpoint evidence, and those with measuring tapes to map the site.

The seven-ton backhoe will be used to remove the top layer of earth. Local laborers have been contracted to do the more delicate digging and removal of bodies. Four Serbs pushed brand-new

wheelbarrows, filled with shovels and pick-axes, up the road to the site.

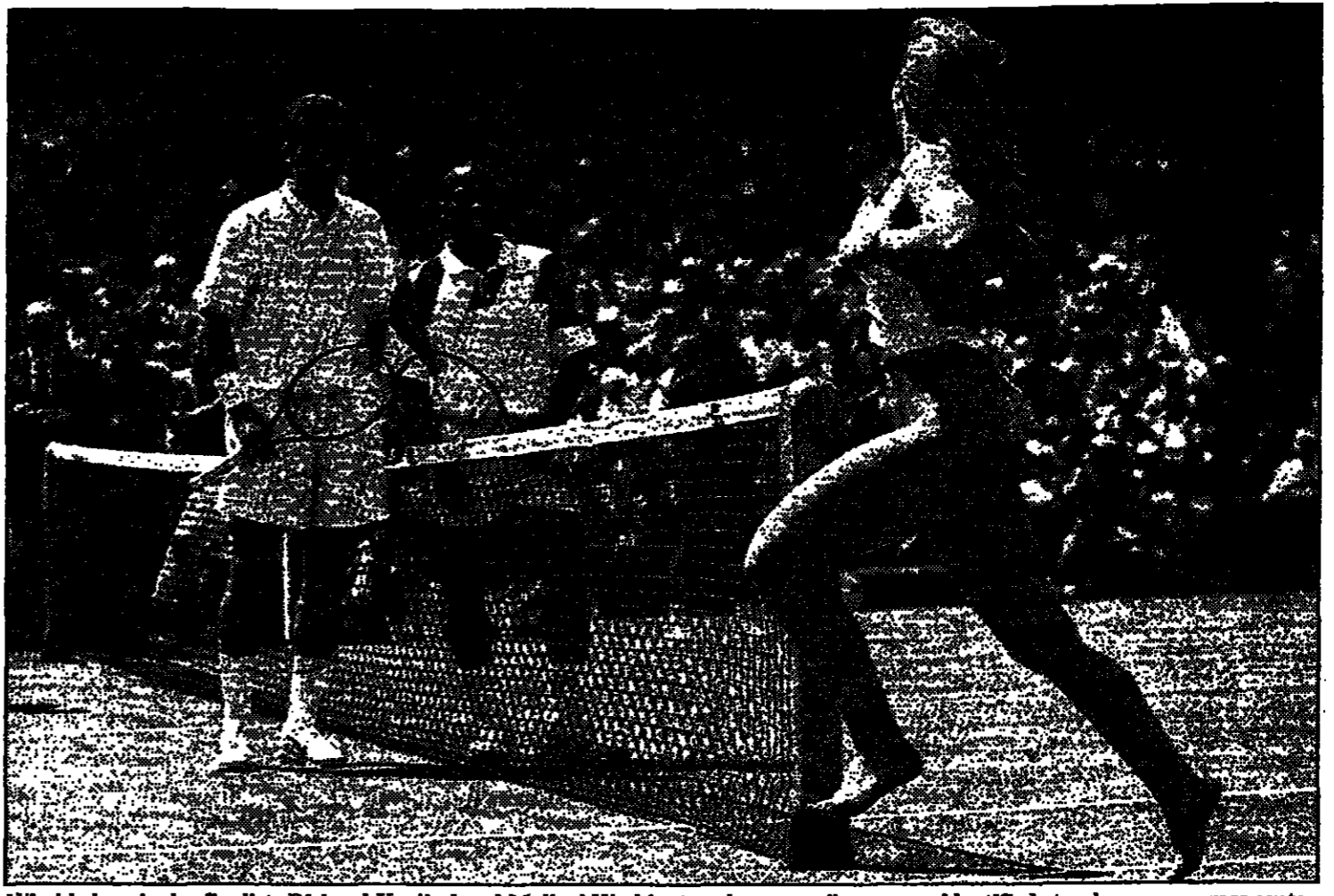
In their previous exhumations in the Srebrenica region, war crimes investigators have found the remains of what is believed to be only a tiny fraction of the massacre victims.

The excavations begun yesterday are intended to reveal the scope of the slaughter. Some of the graves, located as close as 15 km to Srebrenica and 55 km southeast of Tuzla, are thought to contain as many as 2,700 people.

The Hasanovici dig will be the first comprehensive exhumation of a major mass grave site in Bosnia.

The UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands will use the evidence collected by the investigators to try to convict such war crimes suspects as Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Mladic, his military commander.

Both are charged with complicity in all the major atrocities carried out by rebel Serb forces in the 43-month Bosnian conflict. (AP)



Wimbledon singles finalists Richard Krajicek and Maliwa Washington share a smile as an unidentified stalker runs across center court before yesterday's match. Results, Page 10. (AP)

Jet aborts takeoff, killing two

PENSACOLA (AP) - A Delta jet engine blew apart and ripped into the cabin packed with holiday travelers as the plane sped down a runway, killing a mother and son and forcing the pilot to abort takeoff.

Delta Flight 1288 was headed to Atlanta carrying 142 passengers and five crew members, said Kathleen Bergen, spokeswoman for the Federal Aviation Administration in Atlanta. In addition to the fatalities, seven people were injured, at least one seriously.

The 8-year-old MD-88 jet was 450 meters down the runway when passengers reported seeing smoke from the left engine, Bergen said.

Delta spokesman Bill Berry said pieces of the engine pierced the fuselage after the engine caught fire. "At this point we believe it was a major failure

of the engine," Berry said, adding that there was no indication of fire in the cabin.

The dead were identified as Anita S. Saxton and Nolan Saxton, 12, of Scottville, Michigan. The victims were sat in row 37, close to the engine, Berry said.

Also on board were Nolan's brother Derrick Saxton, 15, and his sister Spencer Saxton, 9. Both were in good condition yesterday at Sacred Heart Hospital.

"At first I thought it was a blown tire until I saw the engine flying off the runway," said Jean Paul Menard, a passenger traveling with his wife and 11-month-old child. "It was the front part of the engine. I seen the smoke and I just wanted to get my family right off."

FIFTY years ago, Raphael Blumenfeld was lying on the ground in front of 7 Planty St. with a broken skull, blood all around him. Someone hit him with a stone, and Blumenfeld began to talk to God.

"God! Those people have no mercy in their hearts," Blumenfeld remembers thinking about the mob that on July 4, 1946, turned on Jews in this southern Polish town, killing 42 in what was his become known as Europe's last pogrom.

Blumenfeld survived the massacre and fled Poland later that year, ending up in Israel in 1948. But yesterday he was back in Poland for the first time to join

ANDRZEJ STYLINSKI
KIELCE, Poland

Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, religious leaders and others in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the bloodshed on Planty street.

"We are obliged to accept the legacy of our history," Cimoszewicz told the 2,000 to 3,000 people at yesterday's ceremony. "Deeply regretting everything that Poles have ever been guilty of against Jews, and sincerely apologizing for it, we see the need to work toward true Polish-Jewish reconciliation and brotherhood, which we truly believe is possible."

Although 12 people stood trial and nine were sentenced to death within a week of the massacre, the communist authorities of the time cast a curtain of silence on the pogrom, turning it into a taboo subject for decades.

Only after the communists were toppled in 1989 was an official inquiry into how the pogrom happened begun; it is still underway. The Polish government officially apologized for the pogrom in February.

Blumenfeld, 75, said such steps were long overdue.

"I was thinking about it a lot and I realized that there are things we must change, as Poles know too little about Jews and Jews know too little about Poles," he said in an interview. "Perhaps it's time to seek dialogue."

Pre-World War II Poland had a thriving Jewish population of 3.5 million, or 10 percent of the total

population. Three million perished in the Holocaust, and only about 250,000 were remaining in Poland when the Kielce pogrom occurred.

Blumenfeld, who was born in Kielce, was the only one of his family to survive the war.

But when he returned to Kielce, having spent five years in forced labor and concentration camps in Germany, the atmosphere had changed and Jews no longer felt secure, he said.

Some Poles who had moved into homes that once belonged to Jewish families were saying of returning Jews: "Have so many of them survived?" Blumenfeld said.

"Poles and Jews had lived together for 1,000 years, in good and bad, enriching each others cultures. Why did such things happen between those two ethnic groups which both suffered under the Nazi occupation?"

The violence on July 4, 1946, began after a false report that a Polish boy who had been missing for a few days, then resurfaced, had been abducted by Jews and held in the house at 7 Planty St.

Blumenfeld, then an instructor in a Zionist youth organization, was having breakfast with some group members in a second-floor apartment. They were planning to leave for Palestine within a month.

"Two young Jews came in," he said. "They were scared. They said a big crowd of Poles led by militiamen was approaching,

shouting 'Death to the Jews, they killed our children.'"

A lieutenant and three soldiers walked into the room. Suddenly, there was machine-gun fire, Blumenfeld recalls.

"One boy was killed instantly, another was wounded," he said. The soldiers started dragging the others down the staircase to the shouting violent mob.

Blumenfeld remembers being hit, kicked and pelted with stones before he lost consciousness. Hours later, he recalls being picked up and thrown into an ambulance with "a pile of bodies."

Of his group of 35 youths, three boys and two girls were killed and 10 other youths wounded. The girls were thrown out a second-floor balcony into the crowd, he said.

"Sometimes people talk of murder in cold blood," Blumenfeld said. "That was different - hot, burning murder."

Others attending yesterday's ceremony included Roman Catholic Bishop Tadeusz Pionek and Poland's chief rabbi, Menahem Joskowitz. A group of Israeli youths laid wreaths in front of the house on Planty street and at Kielce's Jewish cemetery.

"What happened in this place shows that normal citizens could be as cruel as killers of any death camp," Wiesel said in an emotional speech. He called on Poles to face up to what happened as a step toward reconciliation.

"I want to know will the Kielce of today acknowledge and remember the Kielce of yesterday," he said. "To forget is to choose dishonor." (AP)

Kielce marks 50th anniversary

Protestant leader warns Irish peace at risk

PORTADOWN (Reuters) - Northern Ireland's most powerful Protestant politician said yesterday that a police ban on an Orange march through a Catholic area was jeopardizing the province's two-year peace.

David Trimble, head of the pro-British Ulster Unionist Party, told a news conference the ban "is putting at risk the tranquility we have enjoyed in recent months."

"It's perfectly obvious. There are going to be problems," said Trimble, as the Protestant Orange Order prepared to confront a huge security cordon barring it from marching through a Catholic area of Portadown, 25 miles (40 km) south of Belfast.

Later about 2,000 marchers, wearing orange sashes and led by bands, walked to a village church for a service and then tried in vain to breach heavy police lines to walk down the disputed Catholic Garvaghy Road area.

No incidents occurred and the marchers returned to the church vowing to stay until the route was reopened.

Several thousand police backed by discreetly concealed British troops cordoned off the area and fields

were sealed off with razor wire to prevent the marchers bypassing security.

A senior Orange official said reinforcements from the 200-year-old order's lodges across the province were on their way to force police authorities to reverse the ban.

"If we can hold on for a few more hours the rest of the province will be with us," Harold Gracey, district master of the Orange Order, said.

Residents complained that the march was offensive and intimidating but leaders of the Orange Order, a civilian organization that honors Northern Ireland's Protestant and British traditions, said they had used the route for years.

"We are prepared to stay a day, a week, a month, as long as it takes. We will stay in Drumcree until such time as we are given our traditional rights," Gracey said.

Trimble said the police ban was an attempt to appease the IRA who broke a 17-month truce in February and resumed bombing targets in Britain and Europe to try to wring concessions from British Prime Minister John Major.

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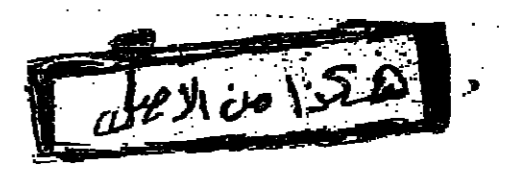
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Demokratiya The Election Shows Russia Is Russian

By MICHAEL SPECTER

DURING the interval between the two rounds of the Russian presidential election, a somewhat morose Grigory Yavlinsky — the reform leader who came in a weak fourth in the voting — posed a question to an American correspondent he ran into at a party. "Tell me something," he asked nervously. "Have there ever been any politicians in the United States who were humiliated at some point in their careers but then came back to win the Presidency?"

"All of them," the reporter replied, only slightly in jest. "It's a requirement." Mr. Yavlinsky pondered the response for a moment and then a huge smile spread across his face. "All right then," the 44-year-old economist said cheerfully, clinking glasses with everyone around him. "Not that this is America, of course."

No, of course not. But for the last six months, as presidential candidates crisscrossed the nation, delivered speeches as they unspooled from teleprompters, held conventions and sought the support of bankers, advertisers and the press, a casual

In a land of intrigue, superficial American traits do not an American-style democracy make.

observer could be excused for confusing the Russian campaign with an American one. On campaign trips — before President Boris N. Yeltsin and his Communist rival, Gennadi A. Zyuganov, simply quit taking them — both major candidates even provided rickety old buses for the weary pack of reporters that followed them around.

Americans tend to assume that anything even vaguely recognizable to them is essentially American. And the election that ended last week with Mr. Yeltsin's convincing victory over Mr. Zyuganov — replete with its campaign posters, party hats and slick advertisements — seemed on the surface about as American as they come. But the surface doesn't get you very far in Russia. Sophisticated the candidates' electoral tactics were not. Nobody here had any industrial heartland or Far Eastern strategy. Neither candidate even bothered to visit Vladivostok, the booming capital of Russia's Pacific coast. There was no gender gap, no female strategy, no attempt to wrest the silent majority from one camp to the next. Yes, Mr. Yeltsin sent direct mail to most of

the nation's veterans, but he never even tried to work the farm districts, where he was weak, and Mr. Zyuganov mostly gave speeches to his supporters in places Mr. Yeltsin did not consider worth a visit.

The truth is that Russia seems to have stumbled onto its own new style of democratic politics. Mixing three parts Kremlin intrigue and one part American-style electioneering, leaders here seem to be developing a whole new set of rules. In the United States, when one party wins and the other loses it is pretty easy to guess how the future relationship between the two will work. Although the situation is different in Europe, the parliamentary democracies there too follow a standard set of rules.

New Intrigue

Nothing is standard in Russia, though. Here people are talking about reconciliation while scheming behind each other's backs. It is not yet known whether the Communists will become a disruptive opposition force or a manageable part of the Government. It is not even known whether they will survive as a party. The Kremlin itself is already rolling anew with intrigue, fueled in part by questions over whether Mr. Yeltsin is healthy enough to serve out his new four-year term. Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin stands solidly at odds with Mr. Yeltsin's brand new savior, Aleksandr I. Lebed, who was appointed security chief after placing third in the first round of voting last month.

The American analogy, used often these days, never really worked, not even on the stump. Mr. Yeltsin campaigned because he needed to prove that he could. His appearances were almost a matter of physical display, an attempt to assure the public that he was both alive and solicitous of their attention. It is not even clear that most voters believed him when he promised them more money, peace in Chechnya, less regulation and a lighter tax burden. When he famously danced on stage at a rock 'n' roll rally in the Urals, he might not have won any points for style, but he did give at least a good imitation of a vivid presence.

'I Am Not a Communist'

And at least Mr. Yeltsin had a message. "It was not that complicated," said Sarah Mendelson, an assistant professor of political science at the State University of New York in Albany, who has worked here to help develop democratic institutions. "He kept saying, I am not a Communist and Communism is worse than I am. I wouldn't say it was exactly an American campaign theme, but the bottom line is that it looked a lot more like normal politics than anything that has happened here before."

Mr. Zyuganov might have played to the insecurities of millions of people who, as it turned out, did not vote for him, but he made an early decision to preach to the converted

Continued on page 2



With American-style campaign posters, like this one in St. Petersburg, the Russian election looked almost American. Look again.

Nowhere to Run
Terrorists are finding fewer places to hide.
By Christopher S. Wren **2**

Image Problems
Missing Americans in North Korea.
By Philip Shenon **3**



Fuhgeddaboutit
Why we remember what never happened.
By George Johnson **4**



The Book on This Campaign

The Making of Political Best Sellers, 1996

By ALISON MITCHELL

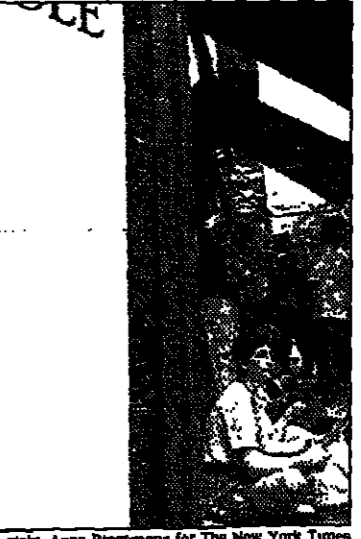
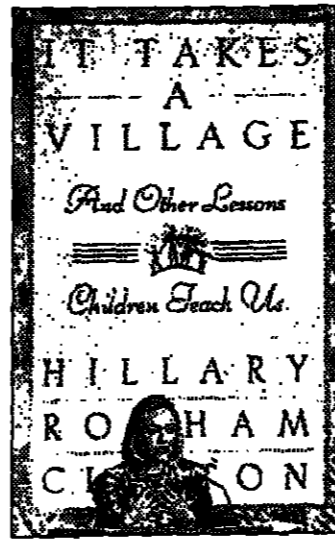
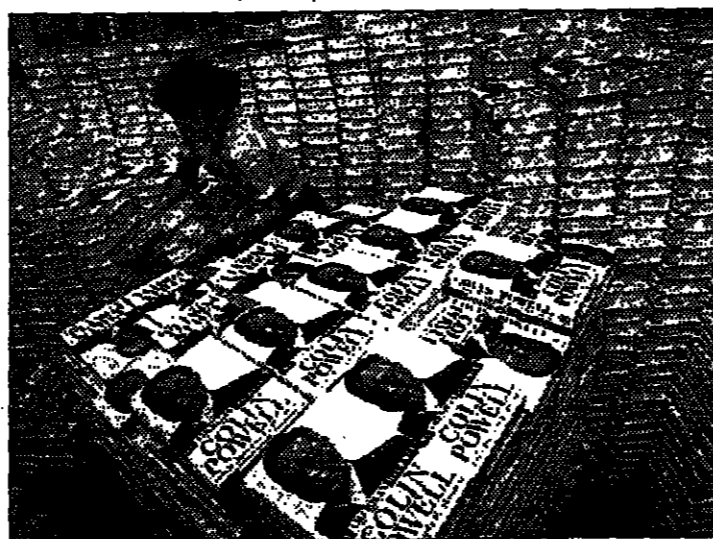
WHEN Theodore H. White wrote "The Making of the President, 1960" after John F. Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon, his book provided a groundbreaking look inside the political industry. Now, nine campaigns later, the hawking of books about Presidential politics has become an industry unto itself. And it's ever harder to tell quite where explanation ends and exploitation begins.

If 1992 was the year in which the Oprah and Larry King shows displaced newspapers and news programs as the media of choice for Presidential candidates, 1996 will surely be remembered as the year in which the race for the White House looked in danger of becoming a mere adjunct of the best-selling book tour.

So it was that when Bob Dole lambasted the "liberal media" last week he used the same media to promote the release of "Unlimited Partners," the joint autobiography written with his wife, Elizabeth. ("Let's talk about the book," Mrs. Dole interrupted a bit plaintively, as her husband and Katie Couric sparred over the issue of tobacco on the "Today" show.)

Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, meanwhile, had just spent weeks responding not to the latest challenges from a campaign opponent but to tableaux from a book by Gary Aldrich, a former F.B.I. agent, and another by Bob Woodward of The Washington Post.

But what else would you expect from a campaign season that began with Colin Powell: The Book Tour?



Also-rans: Colin Powell's book, now in paperback; Hillary Rodham Clinton's book, looming behind her; Bob Dole's book-signing at a Barnes & Noble in New York.

Of course, books and politics have long been intertwined. After writing "Profiles in Courage," Senator Kennedy not only won a Pulitzer Prize but gained added stature that served him well in his Presidential race. Barry Goldwater burnished his reputation on the right with "Conscience of a Conservative." In 1992, Mr. Clinton and Ross Perot alike used books to set out their campaign platforms. And as long as there have been

long-shot candidates there have been quickie campaign biographies to introduce them.

But many in publishing and politics say this election year has been qualitatively different — and not just because Mr. Woodward released his campaign chronicle "The Choice" well before the major-party nominating conventions. This has been a year when even the No. 1 best-selling work of fiction was for a time a satire of Mr.

Clinton's 1992 campaign, "Primary Colors."

This campaign cycle, politicians are using not just books but book tours to generate publicity and try to retain maximum control over who interviews them and on what terms. They and other authors have timed their books in such a way that the books themselves become

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The World

A Secular Land Takes a Gamble



Necmettin Erbakan, center, Turkey's new Prime Minister, at prayer in the garden of his party's headquarters in Ankara last week.

By STEPHEN KINZER

THE ancient Black Sea port of Sinop is known for producing people who dare to challenge the established order. Perhaps its most famous son was the Greek philosopher Diogenes, the Cynic who outraged Athenian rulers by going through the streets with an oil lamp in the day, saying this was the only way to find an honest man.

In the last few days, another son of Sinop has sent chills through the ruling elite. He is Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of Turkey's Islamic party and, to the horror of many, now the country's Prime Minister. A vote of confidence in Parliament, expected this week, is all that stands between him and a chance to lead Turkey for months or years.

Although more than 95 percent of the Turkish population is Muslim, the nation has been resolutely secular since it was founded by the Western-oriented Mustafa Kemal (later to be known as Ataturk, or Father of the Turks), in 1923. He abolished Islamic courts and schools, imported legal codes from Europe, replaced Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, banned religious brotherhoods and religious forms of dress, and gave women the vote.

Because these principles are enshrined in Turkey's Constitution and fundamental laws, Mr. Erbakan may not openly declare that he disapproves of them. Still, he has articulated a view of Turkish society that is profoundly different from Ataturk's. Many Turks expect that if Parliament confirms him in office, he will try, albeit with restraint, to shake the foundations of their society.

What makes Mr. Erbakan's rise to power so potentially significant, however, is not simply the prospect of what he may do at home. Turkey plays a vital role in the geopolitics of the Middle East and beyond, and so what happens in Ankara affects nations across Europe and Asia, sometimes profoundly.

At the Crossroads

"Turkey stands at the crossroads of U.S. interests stretching from the Balkans, where Turkish and U.S. forces are helping to maintain stability, to the Middle East, the Caucasus and central Asia." Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff said in Ankara last week.

Perhaps the cornerstone of Turkey's security policy is its membership in NATO. If Mr. Erbakan's

campaign speeches are to be believed, he wants to pull Turkey out and make it part of a new "Islamic NATO." He also pledged to end Turkish cooperation with the American-led mission that supports a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq.

There are two countries in the Middle East that previous Turkish leaders have viewed as hostile. One is Syria, which sponsors Kurdish guerrillas who are waging a brutal separatist war in southeastern Turkey. The other is Iran, which sets a fundamentalist example for Muslims around the world. During his campaign last year, Mr. Erbakan suggested that he favors a reversal in Turkish policy toward both. He admires Iran for the emphasis its rulers have placed on religion, and Syria for its efforts to confront Israel.

Alone among the countries of the Near and Middle East, Turkey has consistently sought to maintain good

Turkey's new leader doesn't rule alone, and the Army is against radical change.

relations with both Israel and the Arab world. In the last few months, it has begun to tilt toward Israel, signing a military cooperation agreement that allows Israeli warplanes to train over Turkey's vast skies.

This move has outraged many countries in the region, and Mr. Erbakan finds it repugnant. In comments to Mr. Tarnoff's delegation last week, he asserted that Israel should "withdraw from territories it invaded, including the Golan Heights." He believes that Turkey should not only stop cooperating with Israel, but also begin supporting militant groups like Hamas that are fighting to destroy the Israeli state.

"I bet the first thing he will do in office is ask for the dossier on the agreement with Israel," said Alan Makovsky of the Washington Institute on Near East Policy.

Once Mr. Erbakan has that dossier, however, what will he do with it? Given the Turkish Army's determination to keep the country on its pro-Western path, how far can he go in reshaping foreign policy? These questions preoccupy diplomats here last week.

The first step to be taken by Turkey's generals became clear when Mr. Erbakan unveiled his cabinet.

All three of the security portfolios — Defense, Foreign Affairs and Interior — went not to members of his Welfare Party, but to his coalition partner, the secularist and pro-Western True Path Party. Former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, the True Path leader, will be Foreign Minister. This arrangement was evidently recommended by the military, which hopes to build a fire wall between Mr. Erbakan and foreign policy.

Who Holds the Cards?

Key decisions on foreign and security policy in Turkey are made by the National Security Council, whose members are the five senior military commanders, the Ministers of Defense, Foreign Affairs and Interior, and the Prime Minister. Uniformed members of the council will undoubtedly feel uncomfortable with Mr. Erbakan sitting among them, but they believe they have the votes and the persuasive power to control him. The military has seized power three times since 1960 when it disapproved of the way civilians were running things, and that fact alone stands as an implicit warning to Mr. Erbakan.

Although Turkey's military is not fully autonomous, it maintains what amounts to its own security policy in some areas. Commanders listen to recommendations from elected officials, but do not always follow them. During his first two weeks in office, Prime Minister Erbakan has shown that he respects both their views and the force they represent.

The guessing among diplomats now is that because the 69-year-old Mr. Erbakan is on the verge of securing the political post he has sought for most of his adult life, he is unlikely to do anything that would upset his chances at this late stage. By this logic, reneging on his campaign promises is a far more attractive option for him than clinging to them at the risk of political oblivion.

"On basic questions of staying in NATO and maintaining good relations with the West in general, there is still a broad consensus in this country that it's the right thing to do, and those policies will basically continue," a Western diplomat in Ankara predicted last week. "Will there be additions in terms of relations with Muslim countries? Probably there will, but radical changes don't seem to be in the cards."

Former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who helped negotiate the new Turkish-Israeli military cooperation pact, put it more succinctly.

"It is easy to change governments," Mr. Peres said. "It is more difficult to change interests."

Long Arm Of U.S. Law Gets Longer

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

FOR more than a month, witnesses for the prosecution have testified in Federal court in lower Manhattan about terrorist crimes that did not occur on American soil, were not committed by American citizens and did not harm Americans.

Three defendants were extradited from Pakistan, the Philippines and Malaysia to stand trial for what the Government contends was their failed conspiracy last year to blow up American jetliners in Asia. But the only overt acts cited in the indictment were the bombings of a Manila theater and a Philippine Airlines jetliner, which prosecutors describe as rehearsals.

The death of a Japanese passenger gave Japan as well as the Philippines jurisdictional grounds for prosecution. But both countries let the United States have Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, Abdul Hakim Murad and Wali Kahn Amin Shah, because it intends to try Mr. Yousef later this year on separate charges that he masterminded the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center.

Fewer Safe Havens

The recent deaths of 19 American servicemen from a truck bomb in Saudi Arabia offer a tragic reminder that the United States is far from winning its war against terrorism. But the current trial here illustrates Washington's resolve to haul in suspected terrorists on increasingly tangential grounds, in this case before they could strike their intended target, American aircraft. A net of international and bilateral treaties has made extradition, more often used against drug traffickers and other ordinary criminals, a common procedure in going after political terrorists.

"The policy is that no nation should offer itself as a refuge or safe haven for terrorists," said Philip C. Wilcox Jr., the State Department's coordinator for counterterrorism. "They have an obligation to extradite or prosecute them, and more countries have accepted that."

In the aftermath of the June 25 bombing in Saudi Arabia, it was hardly a surprise last weekend that President Clinton and other leaders of major industrialized nations, at their summit meeting in France, reaffirmed the war on terrorism as a top priority.

More significant, probably, is the fact that new American weapons in the war have been continually deployed over the years. The United States has signed no fewer than 10 international treaties and conventions against terrorism, all but one of which require participating nations to prosecute or extradite suspected terrorists. The United States also has bilateral extradition treaties with more than 100 other countries, and has just concluded a dozen more. "It is increasingly accepted that at least certain acts of terrorism are subject to universal jurisdiction," said Louis Henkin, a professor emeritus of international law at Columbia University.

With terrorists taking on the outlaw status once attached to pirates on the high seas, pursuit has moved beyond mere extradition. A spate of aircraft hijackings led Congress in 1984 to enact a law making it a crime to attack Americans anywhere in the world. This amounted to a license to hunt foreign hijackers of any plane carrying American passengers. In 1987, Fawaz Younis, a hijacker hiding in Lebanon, was lured aboard a yacht in the Mediterranean by agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and whisked by Navy jet to the United States, where he was tried, convicted and given 30 years in prison, creating a precedent for subsequent snatches.

The mere threat of doing hard time in the United States prompted drug cartels in Colombia to pressure its legislature to prohibit the extradition of Colombian nationals. "There is something about the criminal justice system in the United States that scares them to death," said Thomas-A. Constantine, the administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration. "They can't manipulate it. Once in prison, they can't continue their criminal endeavors. They not only become prisoners, but they're in exile."



Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, bombing suspect.

The Election Shows Russia Is Russian

Continued From Page 1

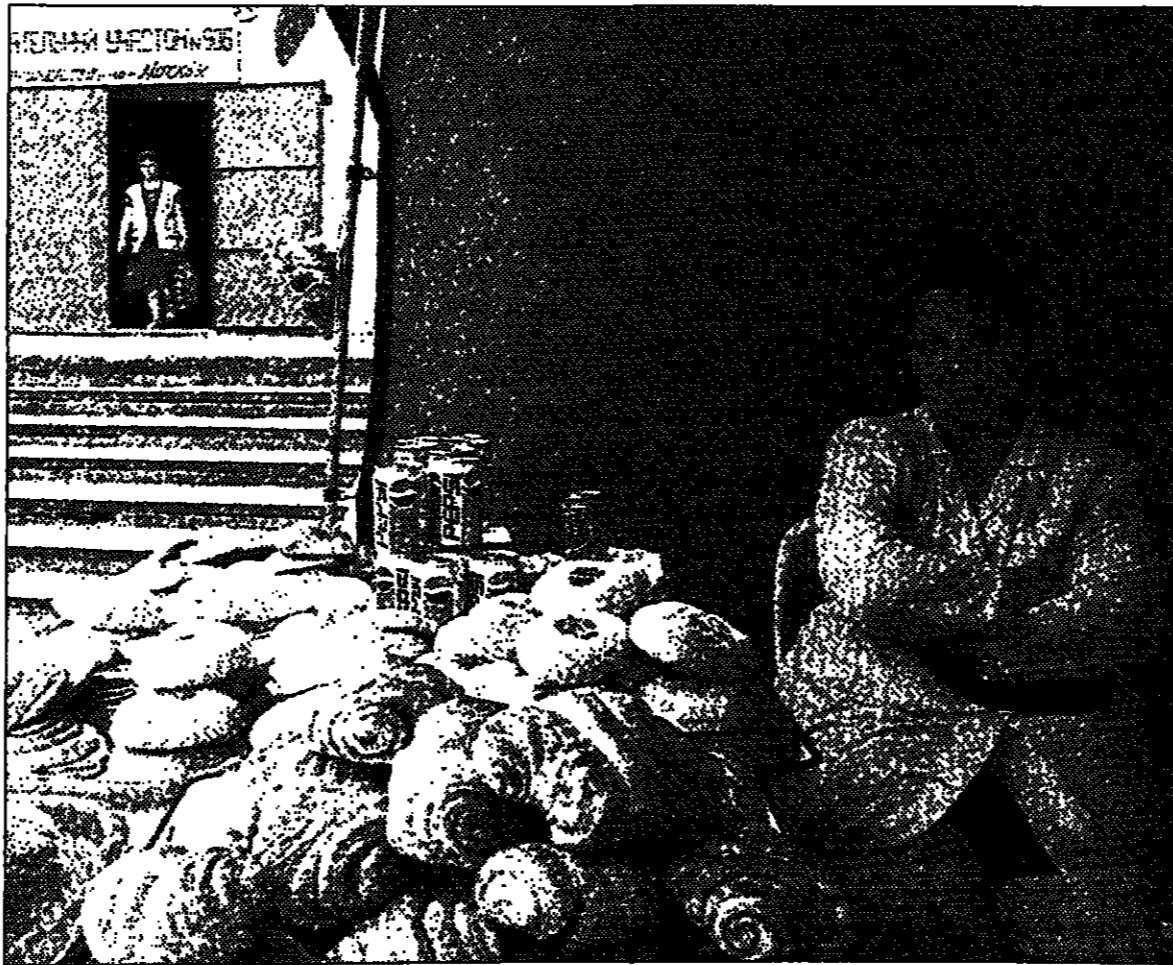
rather than reach out to the many who oppose Communism but hate the state of Russia today. Had he campaigned American style, which involves listening to what the voters have to say, he might have become President. For both men, the people were a dim roar in the distance, and their attitude helps explain why most voters interviewed in exit polls said they disapproved of democracy as practiced here.

The Yeltsin campaign had some backstage help from American campaign advisers who have managed to promote themselves as major reasons he won reelection. Nothing could be further from the truth, though, and their advice was usually either self-evident or irrelevant, the President's aides said repeatedly.

"I am not a connoisseur of the techniques that are used in the West to prepare and conduct elections," said Viktor Ilyushin, a senior aide to Mr. Yeltsin, speaking after the votes were in. "But the first meetings that I had with some specialists told me that it was unlikely we could get many useful tips from our foreign colleagues. Because this is Russia. This is not Germany, not the United States, not Italy. Here we have the Russian people, Russian traditions, Russian habits and a Russian president. Elections in Russia will always take place in the Russian way."

Mr. Yeltsin benefited from a distinctly Russian sense of propriety and from mainly compliant (in some cases bribed) Russian media. While American journalists examined his every appearance and non-appearance for clues of ill health, for example, the boosterish Russian TV networks and newspapers gave that part of the election story short shrift.

Many Russians also find the Western interest in Mr. Yeltsin's drinking to be bordering on the obsessive. On the stump, Mr. Zyuganov would invariably crack that he drank "more than Mikhail Gorbachev and less than Boris Yeltsin." That might have been an impolitic remark in an American campaign, but if the results last week are any indication, Russians couldn't have cared less.



Russia's Pepsi generation didn't pause to refresh after voting last week at a Moscow polling place.

A Holdout: Libya

After a Mexican doctor was abducted across the border and put on trial in California, allegedly for helping drug traffickers torture a D.E.A. agent to death, the Supreme Court in 1992 upheld the Government's right to arrest foreigners without observing the niceties of extradition treaties. The subsequent release of the doctor by a judge who said the evidence was based on wild speculation did not change the Supreme Court's ruling.

Before the current terrorism trial opened here on May 29, attorneys for all three defendants tried to have the indictment dismissed on grounds that the Federal court lacked jurisdiction. Mr. Shah's attorney, David S. Greenfield, argued that the alleged crime had no physical connection to United States territory. In denying the motion, Judge Kevin Thomas Duffy wrote, "Not only does this court have the authority to exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction in this case, but under treaty obligations of the United States, it is required to do so."

The countries where terrorists can live beyond reach of international law have dwindled to a handful. A conspicuous holdout is Libya, which refuses to surrender to the United States or Britain a pair of Libyans accused of bombing a Pan Am jetliner that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, in December 1988, despite the United Nations Security Council's demand that it do so.

Some allies seem relieved to let the United States dispense justice, as was Egypt when its militantly fundamentalist Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman and some followers were convicted in New York of planning to blow up city landmarks. Others are not so obliging. After four Saudi citizens confessed to planting a bomb that killed five Americans in Riyadh last November, Saudi Arabia beheaded the four without letting American investigators interview them. Since the latest bombing, Saudi officials have promised to be more cooperative. The suspicion remains, however, that if caught the Dhahran bombers will be unlikely to escape the Saudis' swift sword for the relative comfort of an American prison cell.

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The World



"Dr. Kelton" is an American double agent in the North Korean propaganda film "Nameless Heroes."



An unidentified actor, right, in "Nameless Heroes" who some believe might be an American prisoner of war.

Another Country, Another M.I.A. Mystery

By PHILIP SHENON

WASHINGTON
THE camera closes in on a gaunt man — balding, pale, probably in his 40's or 50's. "Dr. Kelton," as the character is called in this North Korean propaganda film, is an American double agent in the closing days of the Korean War. While much of his dialogue is dubbed into Korean, the American actor speaks in English, with a distinct Southern twang, and a few of his words can be made out clearly. "Human faith," he says cryptically, "is like the dew."

The film, "Nameless Heroes," is no ordinary piece of agitprop from the isolated Stalinist regime in North Korea. Made sometime in the 1970's, the film's recent showing in the West has added fuel to the arguments of those who believe what had long seemed nothing more than a Hollywood fantasy — that Americans might still be held prisoner in North Korea, more than four decades after the end of the Korean War.

The actor playing Dr. Kelton is one of at least two Americans who appear in the film. Who are they? What are they doing in North Korea, a nation long closed to all but a handful of foreigners, let alone Americans? Could they be two of the 8,100 American troops still listed as missing from the Korean War, nearly four times the number of missing from the Vietnam War?

Many of the families of the missing from the Korean War say they have never given up hope that

their sons, brothers and husbands might still be alive. And their questions to the Pentagon grew more urgent after the disclosure last month of an internal Defense Department report that cited a "recent flurry" of "very compelling reports" that as many as 15 American prisoners of war might still be alive in North Korea.

The report was leaked to Representative Robert K. Dornan, a conservative California Republican who has long accused the Pentagon of ignoring evidence that Americans might still be prisoners in North Korea, Vietnam and other former war zones.

American Search Team

He made the report public, demanding that the Pentagon insist on answers from the North Korean Government. The Pentagon has not disowned the report, by one of its veteran Korean analysts, Insung Lee, although Defense Department officials have insisted that the document reflects only Mr. Lee's views.

Alan Liotta, the deputy director of the Pentagon office on issues involving prisoners of war, said the investigating reports cited by Mr. Lee, most of them from North Korean defectors or Western visitors to North Korea, "are of a sufficient nature to follow up on." But he added, "None of these reports are what I would characterize as a smoking gun."

The disclosure of the memo comes at an awkward time for the Pentagon, which is sending a team of investigators to North Korea this week to begin a search

for the remains of missing Americans.

Pyongyang's decision to allow the search had been hailed as a breakthrough in its relations with the United States. But the North Koreans have warned that the controversial question of live American prisoners could jeopardize the search for remains of the dead. "We have clearly notified the U.S. side through various channels that there is no American prisoner of war staying alive," the official North Korean news agency said last week.

There is some evidence to suggest that the North Koreans and their Chinese and Russian patrons held on to American prisoners long after the 1953 armistice and prisoner exchange that ended the Korean War, possibly as a bargaining chip for later negotiations with the United States. In 1957, China released 15 American prisoners whose existence it had once denied.

Many scholars of the Korean War dismiss the idea of American prisoners in North Korea as folly. "After so many years, what would be the point for the North Koreans?" said Clay Blair, an American military historian. But even he agrees that if there are American prisoners in Asia, they are more likely to be held in North Korea than in Vietnam, a far less closed society. Foreigners, including Pentagon investigators, have been allowed to roam the Vietnamese countryside for years.

Laurence Jolidon, a reporter whose book, "Last Seen Alive," outlined the evidence that Americans might still be held in Korea, said that given North Korea's isolation and rabid anti-Americanism, anything is possible. "There is compelling and overwhelming evidence that

there were Americans there after the armistice," he said.

The Pentagon says it knows of only four Americans living in North Korea, all of them soldiers who defected to the North, and its research suggests that two of them were the actors who appeared in "Nameless Heroes."

But that does not explain the testimony of Serban Oprica, a Romanian-American émigré who has insisted that while on a bus tour of North Korea in 1979 he saw dozens of Caucasian men at work on a collective farm on a Sunday, the day of rest for all workers in North Korea except prisoners. Another Romanian on the bus confirmed the story.

New Hopes

Nor does it explain the testimony of a recent North Korean defector who told investigators that he knew of a group of Americans living in North Korea distinct from the defectors.

The Pentagon memo recites that evidence and, perhaps cruelly, has given thousands of American families hope.

"It's been such a closed environment for so long that you could hide these men," said Irene L. Mandra, chairperson of the Korea-Cold War Association of the Missing. Her 21-year-old brother, a marine, disappeared in North Korea in 1952.

"My darling brother is 65 now," said Ms. Mandra, using the present tense when discussing her brother. "It's a disgrace that we've never gotten these boys back."

The U.S. and the U.N.

Now, Who Needs Whom More?

By STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON
THE apparently innate desire of Americans to remake the world cheaply in their own self-image is on display again in the United Nations, with the usual results: anger and resentment there, and a grudging recognition that in a one-superpower world, the United States can be simultaneously the United Nations' biggest deadbeat and biggest gun.

The Clinton Administration's long, quiet effort to ease out Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has turned into a public embarrassment, if not yet a fiasco. The Americans misread the degree of pride and arrogance in the experienced Egyptian diplomat, who has thrown down a defiant, if presumably futile, challenge to Washington's decision to deny him a second term.

As an article in Le Monde said, it is not America's opposition to Mr. Boutros-Ghali that surprised the world, but "the manner by which it was proclaimed that irritates, and Mr. Boutros-Ghali knows it."

Mr. Boutros-Ghali is playing on the obvious: that the United States wants to dominate the United Nations, use it for Washington's own purpose, define that purpose as a universal good and be loved for it at the same time.

Of course, this is what a cynical and formless world expects from a comparatively benign superpower with many global interests, and the international community is normally far more distressed when the United States fails to exercise leadership than when it does.

A Globe-Shaped Fig Leaf

The United States wants the United Nations as a fig leaf for its own policy goals — both to make it easier to get allies on board and to make it easier to get the American people on board, allowing military action to seem multilateral and humanitarian. It not only spreads the expense, but in the case of failure, as in Somalia and Bosnia, makes it easier to affix blame anywhere but on President Clinton and the White House.

The puzzle for America is simple: The post-Soviet world needs leadership and the United States is uniquely placed to provide it, but the fundamentally isolationist American public has in mind a peace dividend and doesn't want to spend the money required.

Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff was wincingly criticized in the early days of the Clinton Administration when he said that America is, in essence, too poor to lead. Then the delegate to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, got into trouble by proclaiming a new doctrine of "assertive multilateralism," a formula for action that seemed to make the U.N. the only source of legitimacy for the use of force to keep the world secure.

She now argues that assertive multilateralism — a phrase now banned in the Administration — is not idealism but merely a tactic; not a goal, just another phrase for what President Bush did in the Persian Gulf war. It seemed a way around the problem of the world wanting leadership from a United States unwilling to spend much money to lead, let alone pay the \$1.1 billion it already owes the United Nations.

But Republicans chose to attack assertive multilateralism as an ideology. As Peter W. Rodman, the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom put it, "American unilateralism was the principal sin to be avoided, a sin atone for a shameful past." Patrick J. Buchanan and then



The office of the Secretary General of the United Nations has become the focus of an American effort to make sure the organization suits its wishes.

Bob Dole seized on this notion that the Clinton Administration had lost its will to lead, and that the United States was handing over its own proper powers to the United Nations and Mr. Boutros-Ghali, allowing American troops to die for vague purposes.

But this critique stems from the first two years of Mr. Clinton's term, which even Administration loyalists now describe as chaotic and naïve. As the United Nations showed its weakness and Mr. Boutros-Ghali showed his strong-willed refusal to use force, the Clinton Administration rather quickly shifted ground.

In the fall of 1993, when the half-heartedness of American efforts under United Nations aegis led to deep embarrassment in both Somalia and Haiti, even the Clinton White House understood that the assumptions underlying its foreign policy were shaky.

Then in Bosnia, the United Nations, which was supposed to keep the peace, signally failed. Mr. Boutros-Ghali, calling Bosnia a "white man's war," opposed lifting the arms embargo against the Muslims, defended the European reluctance to act and prevented the effective use of NATO air power. Finally, after further massa-

cles of Muslims last summer, the United States and NATO finally took over, blaming the United Nations and not their own misjudgments and hesitations.

There was a growing understanding that the United Nations "lacks the political will and centrality of purpose of a nation state," as the State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, put it. "The United Nations can keep the peace, but in terms of applying force, it's not a good instrument."

But that is also another way of saying that the United Nations is at fault when it is not willing to use force as the United States wants it used. For this, Mr. Boutros-Ghali is also blamed. The Americans say he acts as if the United Nations is the quasi-government of the world and he is its president, that he spends too much time trying to make policy rather than administering a bloated international bureaucracy of sinecures and cocktail parties.

At the same time, American officials happily point to Iraq, where U.N. resolutions neatly justify American policies against Saddam Hussein, and to Haiti, where the eventual American intervention had a U.N. imprimatur and American peacekeeping troops have gradually given

way to U.N. blue helmets.

So the United States is hardly willing to give up on the United Nations. Washington merely has a clearer and more nuanced idea of how to use it, and reform it, for America's ends. The Clinton Administration finds Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who is far less pliable than the vulnerable Kurt Waldheim ever was, an annoying obstacle to its goals, as well as an all-too-easy target for Republican criticism in an election year.

American diplomats have now swung into global high gear to press the case against keeping on Mr. Boutros-Ghali when his five-year term expires this year. In the end, even the French may let Mr. Boutros-Ghali go, given that the United Nations must have the confidence and funding of the United States to survive.

As one doesn't have to admire Hollywood's products in order to enjoy them, the world doesn't have to love the United States in order to need it. Mr. Boutros-Ghali, as experienced a diplomat as he is, will not be surprised to find that the number of hearty hugs of support he receives will be nearly matched by the number of knives in his back.

Ideas & Trends

What Happens When the Brain Can't Remember

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SIX years into what has been declared the Decade of the Brain, the great efflorescence of understanding sometimes seems overwhelming. Breakthroughs follow breakthroughs, like the announcement last week that scientists peering inside a brain with a device called a PET scanner could tell true memories from false ones.

For most of the century, scientists have been trying to understand how something as wispy as a memory is recorded in brain tissue. Judging from the drumbeat of developments in the last few years, one might think that the search was nearing a successful close. But the mystery of memory — this wonderful ability to carry around the past inside our heads — is likely to endure long after the Decade of the Brain is forgotten, though we are certainly better off than when the whole venture began.

Scientists are pretty sure now that memories are made by forging new connections between the brain cells called neurons. A brain responds to new experiences by creating more of these links, called synapses, or by strengthening the ones that are already there. By constantly wiring and rewiring the cerebral computer, the brain strings together a map of the world.

The rose we just put in the vase on the living room table is mirrored in the brain by a newly forged cluster of neurons. But what does a memory like this actually look like?

Does it consist of a hundred neurons, a thousand, a million? What gives it its rosiness? The structure, it seems, must be connected to another cluster that somehow represents the color red and another cluster encoding a rosy smell.

What is the syntax and the grammar with which such ephemera can be written in an alphabet of brain cells? Even if we could grasp how the single rose in its wondrous complexity is represented by stitched-together neurons, the problem would be far from solved. The

memory trace standing for the rose must be somehow connected to another neural structure representing the vase — and another one representing the table and still another representing the floor on which the table stands. How is the notion that the rose is in the vase and the vase is on the table neurologically encoded? How, for that matter, are neurons used to record a telephone number or the dates of the Peloponnesian wars? Before we have answers to these questions, we might have to declare a whole Century of the Brain.

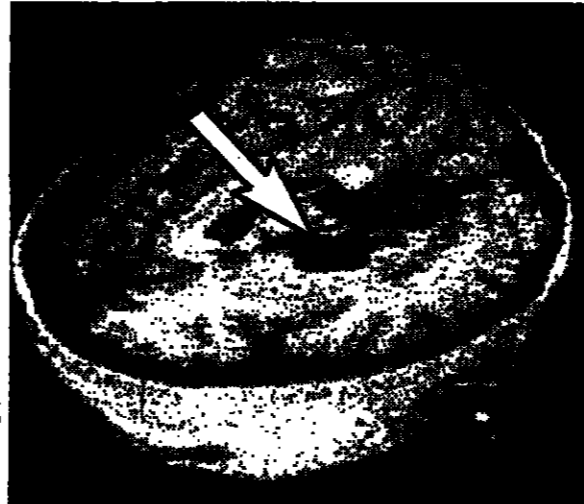
Rose Is a Rose Is a Flower

Meanwhile, we can savor ingenious developments like the one by Dr. Daniel Schacter and his colleagues at Harvard University who studied the neurobiology of false memories. The scientists read a list of words to their subjects. Then they read them another, somewhat different list and asked the listeners which words were the same.

While the subjects were reaching to remember, the scientists monitored their brains. Predictably, an area in the hippocampal region, known to be involved in recalling stored information, was being actively utilized. But the scientists also found that a second area in a different part of the brain was joining in the effort. This region, called the left temporal parietal area, is where sounds are deciphered into words. The brain apparently remembered a word not only as an abstraction — a symbol identifying something in the world — but by its unique sound.

To see what happens when a memory is falsely recalled — when we think we remember something that never actually happened — subjects were given words that were similar but not identical to those they had already listened to. After hearing "candy," "cake," and "chocolate," they were asked if "sweet" had been on the list. Some incorrectly answered yes.

But in this case of false recall, only the first brain structure was activated. The region of the brain responsible for sound decoding remained idle. There was no



A three-dimensional image of the brain reveals one of two regions that are stimulated when a true memory is recalled.

lingering imprint there of the sound "sweet."

The researchers are not claiming that such a method could ever help determine whether a child accusing a parent of sexual molestation or a day-care worker of devil worship is telling the truth. In the brain, memories are quickly transformed and the line between the remembered and the imagined quickly dissolves.

As soon as a memory is formed, the brain goes to work, stripping it of the inessential. When we hear a speech, it is the ideas — distilled from the way they happened to be delivered — that we most strongly remember. Only in rare cases — the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. intoning "I have a dream" — does the

Memory is a construction, not an imprint. In trying to dredge up the past, we grasp at scraps of evidence fluttering inside our heads.

ring of the words themselves endure.

And that is only the beginning of the processing. Memories are smoothed of their rough edges and combined with other related memories. Recalling that one heard "sweet" instead of "candy" and "cake" might be less a case of false memory than of categorization. We group similar experiences together as we build up a sensible picture of how the world works.

Memory researchers may not know what a rose looks like inside the brain, but they have learned an important truth: memory is a construction, not an imprint. In trying to dredge up the past, we grasp at the imperfect scraps of evidence fluttering inside our heads and piece together a theory about what might have happened — or, sometimes, what we wish had occurred.

In his new novel, "Slowness," (HarperCollins) Milan Kundera gives a walk-on role to a Czech scientist who during the Soviet occupation was bullied into letting a group of dissidents use a room for clandestine meetings. He acquiesced out of timidity. Nevertheless, when he was found out, he was stripped of his academic post.

Over the years, as he toiled as a construction worker, the tone of the memory slowly transformed itself from shame into pride. By the time of the fall of the Soviet Union and the liberation of the Czech republic, he could honestly remember himself as a hero.

The Book on Campaign '96

Continued From Page 1

factors in the campaign. Publishers have become ever more canny in marketing to radio and TV talk shows, all in need of personalities to fill air time. And journalists have covered the whole frenetic mix of promotion and politics as news, which maybe it is, sometimes.

"It's the idea of politics and personality, and I think realms that used to be, perhaps, once separate are now commingling," said Lynn C. Goldberg, a publicist promoting the new Clinton biography "Partners in Power" by Roger Morris. "Just as the author has become the author and entertainer, there's the politician as author. We're all part of this entertainment machine."

And so the political season opened with the tense tour of General Powell. Until he eventually declared himself a noncandidate, you couldn't tell if he was or was not running, though he certainly was selling his memoir, "My American Journey," for which he received a reported \$6.5 million advance from Random House. (He is starting a new promotional tour for the book's release in paperback this week.) Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker, agreed to a \$4.5 million advance from HarperCollins for "To Renew America," until he thought better of it and eventually took only a \$1 advance and a percentage of royalties. He did, however, get to use his book tour to test the mood of the country and decide against a Presidential race.

Then there was "It Takes a Village." Mrs. Clinton's attempt at self-rehabilitation after her failed campaign for health care reform. Unfortunately for Mrs. Clinton, her tour coincided with new developments in Whitewater and was eventually overshadowed by "Blood Sport," a look at Whitewater by the investigative reporter James H. Stewart. And no matter that Anonymous, the author of "Primary Colors," avoided the talk circuit. Anonymity itself was the hype, generating prodigious amounts of publicity over the book's authorship.

Blurred Lines

In part the year's plethora of campaign books is a result of the speed and competitiveness of the information age. Robert B. Barnett, a Washington lawyer who represents dozens of authors, says heavy media coverage of Presidential campaigns has made traditional, inside chronicles after the fact less viable. He said readers were "less likely in this year of saturation coverage to read about a campaign after a campaign. The focus has shifted to pre-campaign books."

Lines have also been blurred by the fact that publishers aggressively market their books as news events to the same newspapers, magazines and public affairs TV programs that cover campaigns. Publicists and agents say that to promote a political author they first try to sell excerpting rights to Time or Newsweek so that the magazine in effect "breaks the news" of the book, setting off a feeding frenzy. Next they try to get their writer on a prime-time TV program like "60 Minutes." There are also the after-edged TV talk shows and talk radio.

The trend raises uncomfortable questions. Are reporters who time their books to a Presidential campaign still disinterested observers if they market their book as a news event, in the process affecting the race they are covering? Is a publisher bankrolling a book tour by a politician helping to underwrite his campaign? Mr. Aldrich might well have been ignored had he simply walked into a newsroom peddling his undocumented, salacious stories about the Clintons. Why, when he put the charges into a book ("Unlimited Access"), did he get the ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley"?

As journalists, in competition with each other, becoming cogs in the promotion machine? To obtain interviews with General Powell or advance copies of his book let fall, news organizations, including The New York Times, signed agreements with Random House stipulating when their stories about him and his book could run. This helped the publisher orchestrate its publicity. Mrs. Clinton for the most part managed to avoid political reporters during her book tour, as her publisher, Simon & Schuster, favored kinder, gentler interviewers less steeped in details of Whitewater.

Perhaps none of this would be happening if the campaign had more heart. "Since both campaigns are entirely tactical and about positioning, people look around for something to talk about, and books seem more substantive," said William Kristol, editor of the conservative Weekly Standard. "I do think the trend is not good for either politics or literature."

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WHAT'S ON

CRITIC'S CHOICE

THEATER

HELEN KAYE
ZE'EV Revah, the baker of last year's The Baker's Wife, tackles his second Marcel Pagnol play in Marius, a Habimah Theater production...

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT
STRAIGHT from the leading opera stages of the world, tenor Johan Botha comes to the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center tonight (8:30)...

DANCE

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT
THE Batsheva Dance Company presents the first set of performances of artistic director Ohad Naharin's newest opus Yig, which is a very intimate work for six dancers...



'Orson Welles: The Battle Over Citizen Kane,' will be screened today at the Jerusalem Film Festival.

FILM FESTIVAL

ADINA HOFFMAN
ORSON Welles: The Battle over Citizen Kane and Orson Welles: The One Man Band provide two compelling if contradictory portraits of the director...

TELEVISION

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News 8:45 Exercise Hour 7:00 Good Morning Israel
8:00 Animals 8:30 Tomcats 9:00 Galy, Gal and Gil 9:15 Kalmaru 9:30 The Little Marmad 10:00 Lilbe Women...

CHANNEL 2

15:31 Zap on the Wave 15:33 Tom and Jerry 15:50 Zappers 16:00 Hearbreak High 16:45 Zap on the Wave 16:59 A New Evening 17:34 Zap on the Wave 17:50 Yekudatz 18:15 News in English
ARABIC PROGRAMS 18:30 Sports Magazine 19:00 News in Arabic
HEBREW PROGRAMS 19:31 Grace Under Fire - comedy 20:00 Mabat News 20:45 Popolizza 22:05 The Final Cut - last episode 23:00 Crown Prosecutor 23:30 News 00:00 Verse of the Day

JORDAN TV

15:00 Bankers 15:30 Richie Rich 15:45 Playalot 18:00 Gillette World Sport 16:30 Buster Loose 17:00 News Flash 17:01 French programs 19:30 News Headlines 19:35 Milner Fenwick - documentary 20:00 Paul McKenna Show 20:30 Meetock 21:10 100 years of the Basmal in Korea 21:10 Meetock 22:00 News in English 22:25 The Bold and the Beautiful

WHERE TO GO

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QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Agree (7)
5 Strategem (5)
8 Upper room (5)
9 Archetypal (7)
10 Type of cherry (7)
11 Same as before (5)
12 US currency (6)
14 Confidence (6)
17 Pigment (5)
19 Pardoned (7)
22 Slanging (7)
23 Fold (5)
24 Confuse (5)
25 Siba (7)
DOWN
1 Assert (5)
2 Normal (7)
3 Outstrip (5)
4 Append (4,2)
5 Nonsense (7)
6 Insert (5)
7 Start soccer game (4,3)
12 Qualification (7)
13 Old (7)
15 As an alternative (7)
16 Niche (6)
18 Didn't work (5)
20 Dense thick of trees etc (5)
21 Put off (5)

CABLE

ITV 3 (33)
16:00 Cartoons 16:30 On the Side of Justice 17:15 Panorama 18:00 Amos 18:00 The Wednesday Doctor Talk 20:00 Mabat News 20:45 Angel of Desire - a policeman gets involved in an affair with a murder suspect 22:15 Adventures and Challenges 23:25 Jazz into the Night

DISCOVERY (8)

6:00 Open University 12:00 Human Nature (rpt) 13:00 Beyond 2000 (rpt) 13:30 Ultrascience (rpt) 14:00 Open University 16:00 Human Nature (rpt) 17:00 Beyond 2000 (rpt) 17:30 Ultrascience (rpt) 18:00 Open University 20:00 American Caesar 21:00 Ruby Wax 21:30 Taste of Africa 22:00 Frontline 23:00 Open University (rpt) 23:50 Open University

STAR PLUS

6:00 Aerobics 6:30 Nanny and the Professor 7:00 Mr. Belvedere 7:30 The Vegetarian Kitchen 8:30 Video Fashion News 8:30 Gabriele 9:30 Santa Barbara 10:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 11:00 Oprah Winfrey 12:00 Remington Steele 13:00 The Vegetarian Kitchen 13:30 Video

CINEMA

ASHDOD
G.G. Gil = 8647202 White Squall/The Rock 11 a.m., 4:30, 7:15, 10 + The Bridge 5, 7:30, 10 + The Sarani Family 11 a.m., 5 + Fargo 4:30, 7:15, 10 + Thunderbolt 11 a.m., 5 + Strange Days 10 + Takes Two 11 a.m., 5, 7:30 (at) G.G. Ori 1-3 = 711223 Jumanji 11 a.m., 5, 7:30, 10 + Babe (English dialogue) 5, 7:30, 10 + Babe (Hebrew dialogue) 11 a.m., 5 + The Juron 4:30, 7:15, 10 + Funny Israelis 11 a.m.



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Evil, perverted rites may appear so (3)
5 Look? Did look at children's play (3-3)
9 Unfamiliar person appears a good man to warden (3)
10 Written opinion of senior counsel? (6)
11 Sizes of the deposit? (6)
12 The rest of Spain (6)
14 Legal seizure of goods from bond (10)
18 The person he describes is always late (10)
22 Formal wear, I hear, for the man on Radio! (6)
23 Bad crab I ate - full of these? (8)
DOWN
1 Seems a funny flavouring for bread (6)
2 Wisdom for example, of no man (6)
3 Lampoon ends badly at university (4,2)
4 The school for learning basic chemistry? (10)
6 Vision of agreement among rowing team (8)
24 In Paris as a single group (2,4)
25 Essentials of subject that benevolent student won't guess? (8)
26 Hesity firm's seconds (6)
27 Sach a result may establish two firsts (4,4)

Yesterday's Quick Solution
ACROSS: 1 Byza, 3 Sick list, 9 Tiam, 10 Fresno, 11 NR, 13 Homocidal, 14 Inbred, 18 Upward, 19 Forebrain, 28 Ebb, 23 Tankard, 25 Wager, 26 Schedule, 28 Spy.
DOWN: 1 Baton, 3 Era, 4 Infamy, 5 Kuecap, 8 Immediate, 7 Tangled, 8 Rank, 12 Labrynth, 14 Impotent, 15 Enrased, 17 Vandal, 19 News, 21 Bury, 24 Gap.

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Supreme Court hears Yigal Amir's appeal

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court appeared to give short shrift to the defense's arguments in assassin Yigal Amir's appeal yesterday, though its decision will be issued at a later date.

Amir himself seemed bored through most of the five-hour hearing, rousing himself only at the end to insist that he intended only to paralyze prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, and therefore shot at his back rather than his head.

"But I'm not sorry he's dead," Amir added. "I'm even glad he's dead - because he betrayed his people, and he died like a traitor." Defense attorneys Gabi Shahaar, Shmuel Fleishman, and Jonathan Goldberg raised two main arguments: That there existed gaps in the evidence proving Amir was the one who shot Rabin, and that Amir intended only to paralyze Rabin, and should therefore be convicted of manslaughter rather than murder.

The argument regarding the evidence centered around ballistic findings that the first shot fired at Rabin was fired from a distance of no more than 25 cm., the second was fired almost touching Rabin's body, and the third was definitely fired with the gun touching him.

According to Amir's testimony, however, he was some 40 cm. away, and Shahaar argued that there was no evidence to the contrary. However, Justices Eliezer Goldberg, Eliahu Mazza, and Yakov Kedmi pointed out that ballistic evidence also showed the bullets in Rabin's body came from Amir's gun. Unless this was proved, they said, the issue of the range was irrelevant.

Shahaar then tried to say there was no evidence that the bullets tested by the ballistic experts were the same bullets which were removed from Rabin's body. Perhaps, he suggested, someone else shot Rabin simultaneously, and Amir really fired blanks.



Yigal Amir is led into the Supreme Court for his appeal hearing yesterday. (Brian Henders)

"You can't raise arguments in a criminal trial that don't have some basis in fact," responded Goldberg in exasperation, noting that no evidence had been raised in the original trial to even suggest this theory. Amir himself, he pointed out, testified that he had fired five bullets.

Fleishman then tried to argue that Amir did not have criminal intent, because he did not go

through a normal decision-making process, Amir, he said, never weighed relevant factors such as the harm to his family, the sacrifice of his own future, or the country's reaction; he had only his goal in mind.

How, retorted Mazza, is this different from a Hamas suicide bomber?

"Would you say someone like that has no criminal intent as

well?" he asked. "If we accept your argument, we'd have to erase murder from the penal code."

"He has a goal for which he is willing to sacrifice himself," added Goldberg. "A man like this isn't capable of thinking? He isn't capable of deciding? ... Or are you saying that murder for political motives isn't murder?"

Goldberg noted that Amir tried

many legal methods of combatting the Oslo Accords, and resorted to murder only when he reached the conclusion there was no other way.

Amir himself refuted Fleishman's argument on this point.

"It's not that it doesn't matter to me what people think about me. It's not that life in prison doesn't matter to me," he said. "But I'm

willing to pay this price ... I wanted to give the people the right to choose - the right to decide its own future."

However, he backed the argument that he intended only to paralyze Rabin, not kill him. Much of the case, he noted, was based on his confession, which the court believed. Therefore, he said, the court should believe him on this as well.

"[The lower court] did not find a single instance in which I lied," he said. "I spoke only truth. But when it's to my benefit, then it's a lie."

Both the justices and prosecutor Pinna Guy, however, noted that in the vast majority of Amir's numerous statements on the subject, he said clearly that he did intend to kill Rabin.

Furthermore, Guy said, when one fires several shots at very close range with hollow-point bullets, any normal person would know that death is the natural consequence.

Regarding the firing range, Guy said that since the gun itself is 15 cm. long, adding the gun length to Amir's 40 cm. distance brings the firing range into the 25 cm. set by ballistic experts for the first shot to attain the closer range of the next two shots, he would only have had to extend his hand farther, she said.

Fleishman also asked the court to summon an additional witness - an unnamed pathologist at Ichilov Hospital who reportedly told an unnamed taxi driver that a third bullet, of a different caliber, had been removed from Rabin's body.

Guy said the court should reject this request out of hand, since the taxi driver's affidavit violated all rules by not including the driver's name or any identification.

However, she said, she also checked with Ichilov to be sure, and found that there had been no pathologists present at Rabin's bedside except those who testified in the trial. The court deferred its ruling on the request.

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WEATHER map of Israel with forecast: Clear to partly cloudy.

Weizman fails to find Bar-Ilan compromise

Meretz rejects partial closing of street on Shabbat

PRESIDENT Ezer Weizman's attempt to mediate between Jerusalem haredim and Meretz over the future of Shabbat traffic on Rehov Bar-Ilan appeared to end as quickly as it started yesterday. Meretz rejected Weizman's proposal that the street be closed during prayer times on Shabbat for a month, and then a determination be made if this might be a permanent solution.

Weizman presented the idea to Deputy Mayor Haim Miller of United Torah Judaism, and City Councilor Oman Yekutieli, who heads the Meretz faction on the council, during a one-hour meeting at the President's Residence. Miller accepted the proposal, but Yekutieli rejected it, on grounds it was not a "compromise" but, in effect, giving in to the demands of the haredim.

After the meeting, both sides vowed protests, which in recent weeks have seen haredim violence, would continue on Rehov Bar-

BILL HUTMAN

Ilan. On Saturday, 16 haredim were detained for throwing stones and debris on police and at passing cars.

Yekutieli said that Weizman's proposal was based on the recommendation of the Sturn Committee, which had examined the question of closing streets in the capital, and that to accept the recommendation would be giving in to haredim hooliganism.

He said he supported a suggestion made over the weekend by Arye Shumer, director-general of the President's Office, that walkways be built over Rehov Bar-Ilan to allow haredim to cross undisturbed by traffic on Shabbat.

Miller said the suggestion was impractical, because haredim residents wanted an immediate solution. "I have confidence in this government that Rehov Bar-Ilan will be closed soon," he said after the meeting.

Weizman is scheduled to meet with Transport Minister Yitzhak

Levy today to discuss the issue. But he reportedly sees little chance of a compromise, after the poor results of the Miller-Yekutieli meeting.

The spokeswoman for the President's Residence said Shumer met earlier in the day with haredi residents of the Bar-Ilan area, who expressed support for Weizman's proposal.

Yekutieli, however, quoted haredi leaders as saying in the past saying they saw the closing of the street during prayer times on Shabbat as a first step toward the street's complete closure on Shabbat.

Haim Shapiro adds: According to Transport Ministry spokesman Avner On, Levy is studying the Rehov Bar-Ilan problem and intends to find a solution which will be acceptable to all the parties involved.

On said that Levy has not made a final decision on the issue. He is now speaking to all those involved. On said, and would only reach a conclusion after learning all aspects of the issue.

AROUND THE WORLD table with columns for country, low, high, and other weather-related data.

Winning cards: In yesterday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the ace of spades, 10 of hearts, ace of diamonds, and nine of clubs.

Forest fire rages near Karmiel: MORE than 300 dumams of forest were destroyed in a fire which swept through wooded slopes near Moshav Shezor northeast of Karmiel. Eight fire-engines spent the afternoon and evening yesterday battling the blaze. They were helped by volunteers and spray planes.



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